Arabie – Arabies

volume offert
à Christian Julien Robin
par ses collègues, ses élèves
et ses amis

Édité par
Iwona Gajda & Françoise Briquel Chatonnet
avec la collaboration de Denise Aigle

GEUTHNER

Couverture

Carte de l'Arabie d'après les différents morceaux qu'a donnés M. Niebuhr de cette partie de l'Asie et d'après M. Danville pour l'intérieur des terres, 178- ; source gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque municipale du Havre

4e de couverture

Monogrammes composés de lettres sudarabiques représentant le prénom et le nom de Christian Robin selon l'usage des habitants de l'Arabie du Sud ancienne. Dessin : Mathilde Kania

Ouvrage publié avec le soutien de l'UMR 8167 Orient & Méditerranée, de l'École doctorale 1 de Sorbonne Université et du fonds Intervention Recherche de Sorbonne Université

278 BD RASPAIL, 75014 PARIS

ISBN : 978-2-7053-4116-9

Composition et mise en pages
Emmanuelle Capet, UMR 8167

Abréviations

ANA Ancient North Arabian.

ASA Ancient South Arabian.

CAD Ignace J. Gelb, Thorkild Jacobsen, Benno Landsberger, A. Leo Oppenheim *et al.*, *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of Chicago*, Chicago, Oriental Institute 1956-2010.

CIH *Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum. 4, Inscriptiones Ḥimyariticae et Sabaeae,* Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1899-1930.

CIAS *Corpus des inscriptions et antiquités sud-arabes*, Louvain, Peeters, 1977-.

CIS *Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum. Pars secunda inscriptiones Aramaicas continens*, Paris, 1889-.

CRAI *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, Paris.

CSAI Alessandra Avanzini, *Corpus of South Arabian Inscriptions 1-3, Qatabanic, Marginal Qatabanic, Awsanite inscriptions*, Pisa, Plus, 2004 (Arabia antica 2).

DASI *Digital Archive for the Study of Pre-Islamic Arabian Inscriptions*, http://dasi.cnr.it/.

DS Alfred F. L. Beeston, Maḥmūd A. al-Ghul, Walter W. Müller & Jacques Ryckmans, *Sabaic Dictionary (English-French-Arabic) = Dictionnaire sabéen (anglais-français-arabe)*, Sanaa, University of Sanaa – Louvain, Peeters – Beyrouth, Librairie du Liban, 1982.

EI², *EI³* *Encyclopaedia of Islam = Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, 2e et 3e éd., Leiden, Brill, 1960-2005 et 2007-.

Ja Albert W. F. Jamme, *Sabaean Inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqîs (Mârib)*, Baltimore, 1962 (Publications of the American Foundation for the study of man 3).

Kazimirski Albert de Biberstein Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, Paris, Maisonneuve, 1860, 2 vol..

Kitchen Kenneth Anderson Kitchen, *Documentation for Ancient Arabia. 2, Bibliographical Catalogue of Texts*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2000 (The World of Ancient Arabia Series).

OCIANA *The Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia*, http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/

RES *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique. 5-8*, publié par la Commission du *Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Paris, 1929-1968.

Sab. Dict. voir *DS*.

SW *Sabäisches Wörterbuch*, http://sabaweb.uni-jena.de/Sabaweb/



Carte de la péninsule Arabique (© A. Emery, J. Schiettecatte, 2023).

Table des matières

Du tesson à l'architecture

Des religions traditionnelles à l'islam

A Ḥimyarite diplomatic mission of the king Shammar Yuharʿish to the Roman Caesar of Shaʾmat

Mohammed Maraqten
Münster University, Germany

Introduction

A twenty-one-line Sabaic inscription was discovered in the recent excavations by the AFSM (American Foundation for the Study of Man) at Awām Temple/Maḥram Bilqīs, near Maʾrib, Yemen. This text reports on a diplomatic mission sent by the Ḥimyarite king Shammar Yuharʿish (ca. 287-312 CE) to the *qys¹rm* "Caesar," king of Shaʾmat, or Bilād al-Shām (Syria-Palestine).

The Awām Temple in Maʾrib

The massive, oval-shaped temple, known by its folkloric name, Maḥram Bilqīs or Ḥaram Bilqīs, was built by the Sabaeans at the edge of what is now the Ramlat as-Sabʿatayn desert, called *Ṣayhad* in the Islamic sources. This temple, which was known to the Sabaeans as *ʾwm*/Awām continued in use until the end of the 4th century CE (Fig. 1). It was constructed around the time of the emergence of the Sabaean culture, towards the end of the second millennium BCE. It served as the main center of worship of the Sabaean national god Almaqah. Awām was an economic center and a major center of social and religious activities of the Sabaeans as well as the central place of pilgrimage in the Sabaean kingdom.

A number of important historical inscriptions were discovered by the AFSM excavations in 1951. Several decades later, in nine consecutive seasons of the recent AFSM excavations (1998-2006) more than five hundred complete and fragmentary inscriptions were discovered or re-discovered.

Arabie – Arabies : volume offert à Christian Julien Robin par ses collègues, ses élèves et ses amis, I. Gajda & F. Briquel Chatonnet (éd.), Paris 2023, p. 117-127.



Fig. 1 – Awām-Temple/Maḥram Bilqīs (photo Maraqten, AFSM archive).

This corpus of texts forms the largest and most significant archive of ancient Yemen (MARAQTEN 2015). The inscriptions give us important information about the relations of Yemen with other parts of the ancient Near East such as Ethiopia (ROBIN 2012), Bilad al-Shām, and Mesopotamia (MARAQTEN 2022; OVERLAET 2009). These inscriptions are also very important for the history of Central Arabia and North Arabia in general (MARAQTEN 2018).

Inscription MB 2004 I-123: epigraphic notes (Figs. 2-3)

The inscription, siglum MB 2004 I-123, belongs to the collection of Sabaic inscriptions that have been discovered at the Awām-Temple/Maḥram Bilqīs in the fifth season (spring 2004). The inscribed block was reused in the pavement of the Peristyle Hall of the Awām-Temple, near the drainage system, approximately in the center of the Peristyle Hall (Fig. 2). It was located close to the rediscovered inscriptions Sharafaddin 31 = MB 2004 I-125 and Sharafaddin 32 = Sh 32 = MB 2004 I-126, which means that these three inscriptions were probably set up in the same place in the Peristyle Hall of the Awām Temple. All three texts date to the reign of Shammar Yuharʿish (ca. 287-312 CE).

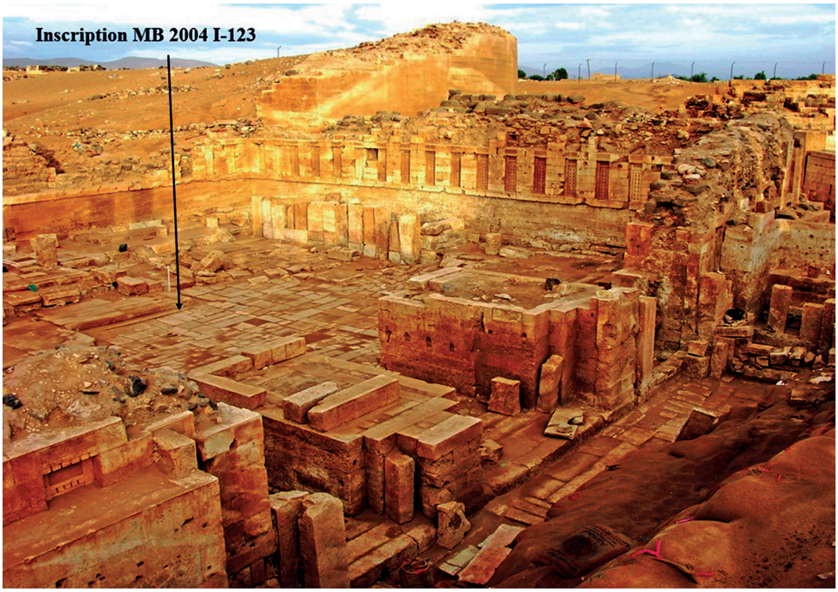


Fig. 2 – Location of the inscription MB 2004 I-123 (photo Maraqten, AFSM archive).

The limestone block with the dedicatory inscription engraved on its front face was used as the base of a statue (Fig. 3). The inscription contains 21 lines of text, covered partly with red paint. The symbol of the god Almaqah is placed in the upper right corner at the beginning of the lines 1-2.

Measurements:

50.5 x 22.5 cm;
text: 44.5 x 22 cm;
letter height: 2-2.2 cm;
symbol: 4.5 x 3 cm.

The text is complete and all letters are preserved. The word *ʾrbʿ* is written twice in the dating formula (lines 20-21), which seems to be an error by the inscriber. Instead of the two words *ʾrbʿ* only one of them should be considered (see below). The inscription is dated to the month Ḏū-Mabkarān 421 of the Ḥimyarite era (May 311).

Transcription

1 *s^2rḥʿṯt/ʾs^2wʿ/w-ʾḫ*
2 *hw/lḥyʿṯt/ḏy/ṣwb*
3 *n/w-s^1nfrm/hqnyy/l-mrʾh*
4 *my/ʾlmqhwbʿlʾwm/ṣl*
5 *mn/ḏ-ḏhbn/l-ḏt/ḫmr-hm*
6 *y/ʾwl-hmy/b-wfym/bn/s^2ʾm*
7 *t/k-wqh-hmy/mrʾ-hmy/s^2mr/yhr*
8 *ʿs^2/mlk/s^1bʾ/w-ḏrydn/w-ḥḍrm*
9 *t/w-ymnt/w-bkn/tbltw/ʿbr/*
10 *qys^1rm/mlk/s^2ʾmt/k-s^1bʾy/bḥ*
11 *rn/w-l-wzʾ/ḫmr-hmw/ṣlḥ/g*
12 *rbt-hmw/w-ʾḫwt-hmy/w-ḥs^2kt-*
13 *hmy/w-ʾlwd-hmw/w-ʾdm-hmw/w*
14 *l-mtʿ-hmw/bn/bʾs^1m/w-l-s^1ʿdn/hm*
15 *w/ʾfql/ʾklm/w-s^1qym/w-kl/ʾṯ*
16 *mrm/w-l-nqm/s^2nʾ-hm/w-l-hws^2ʿ-*
17 *hmw/b-ḍrm/w-s^1lmm/w-ʾʾrḫ*
18 *ṣdqm/w-kwnt/ḏtn/hqnytn*
19 *b-wrḫn/ḏ-mbkrn/ḏ-b-ḫrfn/*
20 *ḏ-l-ʾḥd/w-ʿs^2ry/w-ʾrbʿ/<<w-ʾr*
21 *bʿ/>> mʾtm/*

Translation

1 Sharaḥ-ʿaṯat Ashwaʿ and his brother
2 Luḥy-ʿaṯat, both of the family Ṣawbān
3 and Sanāfirum have dedicated to their lord
4 Almaqahū, Lord of Awām, the statue
5 of bronze because He [i.e. Almaqah] granted both of them
6 the safe return of both of them from Shaʾmat
7 when their lord Shammar Yuharʿish,
8 king of Sabaʾ and Ḏū-Raydān, Ḥaḍramawt,
9 and Yamanat ordered them, and when they carried out a diplomatic mission to
10 Caesar, king of Shaʾmat. And both of them carried out that mission using
11 the sea route. And may He [i.e. Almaqah] continue to grant
12 good health of their persons, their brothers, their wives,
13 their children and their servants and may He [i.e. Almaqah] save them against
14 harm and may He [i.e. Almaqah] grant for them

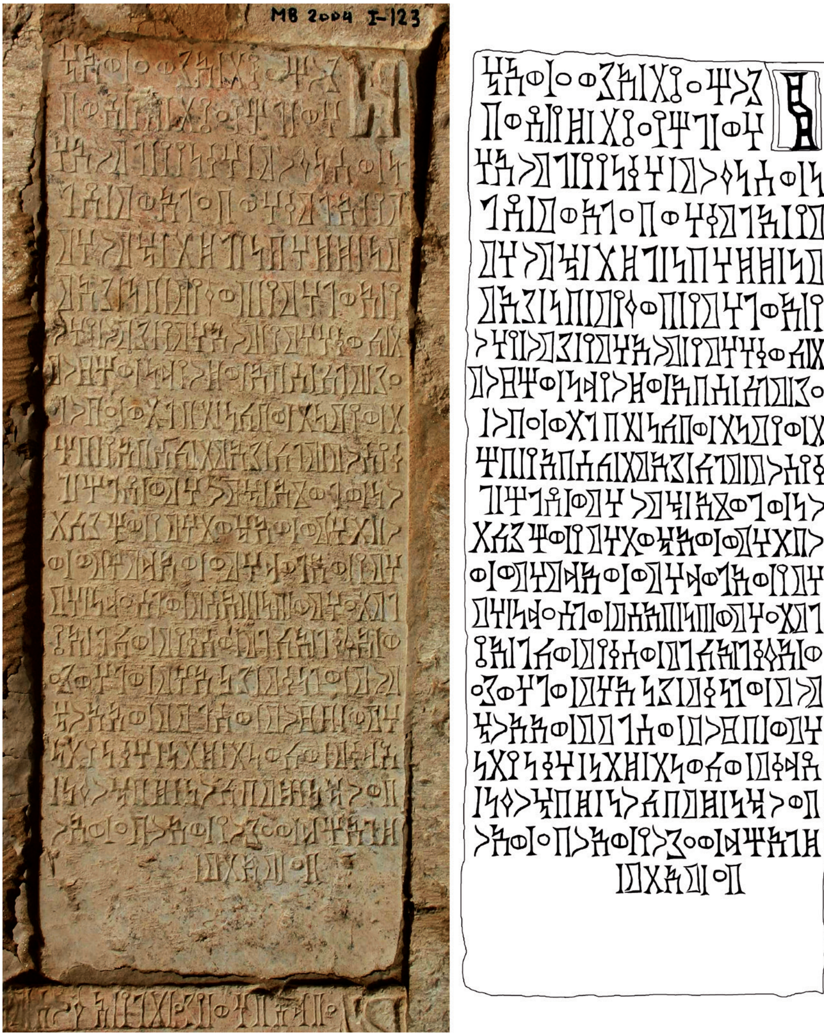


Fig. 3 – The inscription MB 2004 I-123 (photo and drawing Maraqten, AFSM archive).

15 grain crops and well-watered crops and all
16 crops and may He [i.e., Almaqah] revenge their enemy
17 and may he protect them in the time of war and peace
18 [and may He grant them] successful undertakings.
19 And this offering was made
20 in the month of Ḏū-Mabkarān which was in the year
21 421.

Philological commentary

The style of the text of the inscription discussed here has the same characteristics as other dedicatory inscriptions of the Awām-Temple. This inscription is dated according to the Ḥimyarite dating system to the year 421 (of Ḥimyaritic era = 311 CE). The text starts with the name of the dedicant and his brother and their genealogy. Both persons claim a relationship to the lineages Ṣawbān and Sanāfirum.

Ll. 1-4: the two dedicants of the offering are *s^{2}rḥʿṯt ʾs^{2}wʿ* and his brother *lḥyʿṯt* from the clans *ṣwbn* and *s^{1}nfrm*. The personal name *s^{2}rḥʿṯt* consists of the nominal element *s^{2}rḥ* "protection" and the theophoric *ʿṯt* (*ʿṯt* <*ʿṯtr*). It is attested several times in the Sabaean inscriptions and in particular in the texts from the Awām temple. The cognomen *ʾs^{2}wʿ* occurs several times in the inscriptions. The name of the brother, *lḥyʿṯt*, is very popular in South Arabian onomastics (HAYAJNEH 1998, pp. 226 f.). The clan's name *ṣwbn*, Ṣawbān, is known from Sabaic inscriptions (MQ-al-Ḥāt 1; Ir 29/1). The lineage *s^{1}nfrm* is also known from other Sabaic inscriptions (MṢM 4521; Ja 576+Ja 577/13).

Ll. 5-11: the reason of the dedication is given: both of the dedicators, namely *s^{2}rḥʿṯt ʾs^{2}wʿ* and his brother *lḥyʿṯt*, returned back from a diplomatic mission to *s^{2}ʾmt* in safety.
ʾwl-hmy: *ʾwl* is the infinitive of the root ʾWL "return, bring back"; the suffix *-hmy* relates to both dedicators. The inscription states that these two persons were ordered *(k-wqh-hmy)* to carry out the mission by their lord Shammar Yuharʿish, king of Sabaʾ and Ḏū-Raydān, Ḥaḍramawt and Yamanat *(mrʾ-hmy s^{2}mr yhrʿs^{2} mlk s^{1}bʾ w-ḏ-rydn w-ḥḍrmt w-ymnt).* It should be noted that the king Shammar Yuharʿish (ca. 287-312 CE) here bears the long title.
tblt-w/ʿbr: the verbal form *tblt (tfʿl/tafaʿʿala)*, means "to carry out a diplomatic mission" and derives from the root BLT "send, despatch someone on mission" (*Sab. Dict.*, p. 29).
k-s^{1}bʾy bḥrn: *s^{1}bʾy* is the dual form from the root S^{1}Bʾ, "carry out an undertaking"; *bḥr*: "sea."
qys^{1}rm/mlk/s^{2}ʾmt: "Caesar, king of Shaʾmat." This is the most important passage in the text. The term *qys^{1}rm*, "Caesar," designating the Roman emperor, appears for the first time in the South Arabian inscriptions. This term *qyṣr*, "Caesar," is attested in a Safaitic inscription (AL-JALLAD & JAWORSKA 2019, p. 111).
ṣlḥ "give prosperity; health" (*Sab. Dict.*, p. 142).

Ll. 12-18, *ʾḫwt-hmy*: *ʾḫwt* is plural of *ʾḫw*, "brother, clan-fellow, ally."

ḥs^2kt-hw: *ḥs^2kt*, *ḥašakāt* should be considered here as the plural of *ḥs^2kt*, "wife"; cf. the plural form *ʾḥs^2kt* (*Sab. Dict.*, p. 72). Note that the plural form *ḥs^2kt*, which relates in general to married women in the clan in general and it does not necessarily mean the wives of particular men (Maraqten 2008).

mtʿ: "save, deliver, make thrive someone/something" (*Sab. Dict.*, p. 88).

ʾfql ʾklm ws^1qym: the word *ʾfql* is a plural of *fql*, "crops"; *ʾkl*, "grain crops"; *s^1qy*, "well-watered crops."

ʾʾrḫ ṣdqm: *ʾrḫ*, "affair, matter," plural feminine *ʾʾrḫ*. In a juridical sense it means "judicial case" (*Sab. Dict.*, p. 7).

Ll. 19-21: the text includes wishes and requests addressed by the dedicants to Almaqah; they ask the god to protect them and grant them prosperity and good crops.

The text ends with a dating formula according to the Ḥimyarite dating system: *w-kwnt ḏtn hqnytn b-wrḫ ḏ-mbkrn ḏ-bḫrfn ḏ-l-ʾḥd w-ʿs^2ry w-ʾrbʿ* <<*w-ʾrbʿ*>> *mʾtm* "And this offering was made in the month Ḏū-Mabkarān which was in the year 421" (the year 421 of the Ḥimyaritic era corresponds to 311 CE).

The month name *ḏ-mbkrn,* Ḏū-Mabkarān is attested several times in the inscriptions (*CIH* 448+Hakir 1/5, Robin-Viallard, Doe-Abyan 1/7, Dostal 1/8) and corresponds to May (Müller 2010, p. 126). It is also known as Ḥimyarite month name *Ḏū-l-Mabkar* in the Classical Arabic tradition (Varisco 1994, p. 69). The month *Ḏū l-Mabkar* is identified as the time of threshing (*Rūḥ al-maʿārif*, p. 370).

Historical notes

The two authors, Sharaḥ-ʿaṯat Ashwaʿ and his brother Luḥy-ʿaṯat, made a dedication to Almaqah for their safe return from the diplomatic mission which they carried out at the behest of the Ḥimyarite king Shammar Yuharʿish to Caesar, "king of Shaʾmat," the Roman Emperor.

The mission used the sea route. However, it is difficult to figure out where the journey started since there is no indication in the text. The mission appears to have navigated along the Red Sea probably up to the port of Ayla, near Aqaba.

Our text also doesn't mention the length of the mission. However, the inscription Sharafaddin 31 (= MB 2004 I-125) provides information on the duration of two journeys to Shaʾmat *(s^2ʾmt)*, Bilād al-Shām, which are described in the inscription to have been "a diplomatic mission of twenty-

seven months and a diplomatic mission of thirty months" (MARAQTEN 2022). We may expect a similar duration for the mission to Caesar, king of Shaʾmat.

Our text mentions that this diplomatic mission was sent by Ḥimyarite King Shammar Yuharʿish (ca. 287-312 CE), possibly one of the most important rulers of Yemen in antiquity. According to the historical information recorded in the Sabaic inscriptions, Shammar Yuharʿish reigned in Yemen, first with his father Yāsir Yuhanʿim ca. 275-287 CE and then alone ca. 287-312 CE. Actually, he was the unifier of Yemen, having conquered ancient Sabaʾ and Ḥaḍramawt and formed the Ḥimyarite empire, who played an essential role in world politics of that time. After his unification of Yemen and halting of the expansionist ambitions of the Axumites in Yemen, Shammar Yuharʿish appears to have started a new strategy of looking for diplomatic relations with the countries lying north of his kingdom (GAJDA 2009, pp. 35-41). During his reign, the Ḥimyarite empire started to play an international role in the region. Shammar Yuharʿish sought to strengthen the political ties between the Ḥimyarite empire and Central Arabia, beginning with the large tribe of Al-Asd/Al-Azd. Good relations with this tribe and others such as Maʿdd (ZWETTLER 2000; SCHIETTECATTE & ARBACH 2016, pp. 189-190; ROBIN 2014, pp. 41-43) and Ghassan (ROBIN 2015) existed already prior to his reign (see the inscription ʿInān 75). The kingdom of the large tribe of Kindah declared its loyalty to the Ḥimyarites during the visit of Mālik b. Muʿāwiyah, king of Kindah and Madhḥiğ to the Ḥimyarite king Shammar Yuharʿish in Maʾrib (MARAQTEN 2018).

Caesar of Shaʾmat

Who was actually the "Caesar" mentioned in the inscription MB 2004 I-123? The diplomatic mission was sent to the "Caesar, king of Shaʾmat," by king Shammar Yuharʿish (ca. 287-312 CE). The mission is dated to the year 421, according to the Ḥimyarite dating system (which corresponds to 311 CE). In this case, the "Caesar" to whom this embassy was sent, seems to have been Constantine I (306-337) (POHLSANDER 2004). The inscription mentions the term *qys¹rm* "Caesar," which designates the Roman emperor, but, unfortunately, it doesn't give his personal name. Roman ambitions in the Red Sea towards South Arabia and Ethiopia are evident during the rule of Constantine's son, Constantius (337-359 CE) as the missionary expeditions sent to the kingdoms of Ḥimyar and Axum prove (SHAHID 1984, pp. 31-86).

Shaʾmat

Until the recently discovered Sabaic and Qatabanic inscriptions, it was difficult to define accurately the meaning and location of *s²ʾmt*, Shaʾmat, Bilād al-Shām (Arbach & Schiettecatte 2015; Schiettecatte & Arbach 2016; Maraqten 2022). However, the term Shaʾmat *(s²ʾmt)* occurs frequently in ancient South Arabian inscriptions (Robin 2013) and in particular in Sabaic inscriptions in general. It is understood as the "North" and usually considered as a wide area starting from Ṣaʿdah and stretching northwards to the Levant, including the tribal territories and kingdoms mentioned in several inscriptions (Robin 2014, pp. 41-43).

Apparently, our inscription MB 2004 I-123 is the earliest evidence of the definition of Shaʾmat corresponding to Bilād al-Shām, as a geographic and political term referring to the Levant or the Eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. This means that the term Shaʾmat in this text refers particularly to Bilād al-Shām (Syria-Palestine) and not Shaʾmat of central or northern Arabia as it is known from other inscriptions (Maraqten 2022).

Recently, our knowledge about Shaʾmat *(s²ʾmt)* based on the Sabaic and Qatabanic inscriptions has increased. The earliest mention of the term Shaʾmat as a geographical and political entity seems to be in a Qatabanic inscription (Maraqten-Qatabanic 1), which documents a trading journey by a Qatabanian merchant to Bilād al-Shām. This inscription mentions "the cities of Shaʾmat [Bilād al-Shām] and of the Nabataeans" *(ʾhgr/s²ʾmt/w-nbṭm)*, as well as the "Chaldeans" *(ks²d)*, Egypt *(mṣr)* and Ionia *(ywnm)*. The dating of the inscription is possibly the second half of the first century BCE or the beginning of the first century CE. In this case, it may belong to the reign of the Nabataean king Aretas/Ḥarithat IV (8 BCE – 40 CE), which represents a period of prosperity for the Nabataean state and its international trade. This inscription sheds light on the relationship between Bilād al-Shām and ancient Yemen. It mentions the Semitic name of the Nabataean capital Petra as *rqmm* (al-Raqīm), which could be al-Raqīm mentioned in the Qurʾān (Maraqten 2014).

Shaʾmat was already known as a geographic region in the middle of the third century CE as it is recorded in a Sabaic inscription that mentions a Sabaean embassy sent by the kings Ilīsharaḥ Yaḥḍub and Yaʾzul Bayyin, kings of Sabaʾ and of Dhū-Raydān (ca. 235-255 CE) "to the kings of Shaʾmat: al-Ḥārith ibn Kaʿbum king of Asd and Mālikum son of Baddāʾ king of Kiddat and Madhḥig," *b-ʿbr/ʾmlk/s²ʾmt/ʾl-ḥrṯ/bn/kʿbm/mlk-ʾs¹d/w-mlkm/bn/bd/mlk/kdt/w-mḏḥgm ...* (*CIAS* 39.11/o 2 n° 8 = Ja 2110).

Moreover, the Sabaic inscription (Riyām 2006-17) that has recently been discovered on the site of Jabal Riyām (Yemen), gives us information

about a journey that most likely was a diplomatic mission carried out by a notable Sabaean on behalf of the rulers of the tribe of Ḥumlān. This inscription mentions a journey carried out to *ʾrḍ s²ʾmt*, "the land of Shaʾmat." This could refer either to "the land of the North" or "the land of Shaʾmat." In my opinion, "the land of Shaʾmat," which is a geographic and political entity in this inscription, should be understood as a reference to Bilād al-Shām. Moreover, this Sabaic inscription provides us with a list of the regions through which the envoy passed on this particular journey. He seems to have traveled in western and northern Arabia and in the Levant, up to Palmyra and Mesopotamia. This text may date to the third century (possibly ca. 260-280 CE) and offers a unique representation of the political powers in the region, shedding new light on the regional map of that time (Arbach & Schiettecatte 2015; Schiettecatte & Arbach 2016).

Significance of the inscription MB 2004 I-123

This is the first ancient South Arabian inscription that gives us direct information about the diplomatic relations between the Ḥimyarites and the Romans. It adds new data about the relations between Yemen and other parts of the ancient Near East, which consisted primarily of trade activities and diplomatic relations.

References

For the sigla and further bibliographic references of the inscriptions mentioned in the article, see Kitchen, *DASI*, and the *Sabäisches Wörterbuch*.

Ancient sources

Rūḥ al-maʿārif fī nuẓum wa-qawānīn wa-aʿrāf al-yaman fī al-ʿahd al-muẓaffarī al-wārif. 1, ed. M. Ǧāzim, Sanʿāʾ, CEFAS (Centre français d'archéologie et de sciences sociales de Sanaa), 2003.

Modern studies

Al-Jallad Ahmad & Jaworska Karolina, 2019, *A Dictionary of the Safaitic Inscriptions*, Leiden, Brill (Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 98).

Arbach Mounir & Schiettecatte Jérémie, 2015, "De la diplomatie et de l'aristocratie tribale du Royaume de Sabaʾ d'après une inscription du IIIe siècle de l'ère chrétienne", *CRAI*, pp. 371-397.

Gajda Iwona, 2009, *Le royaume de Ḥimyar à l'époque monothéiste : l'histoire de l'Arabie du Sud ancienne de la fin du IVe siècle de l'ère chrétienne jusqu'à l'avènement de l'islam*, Paris, De Boccard (Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres 40).

Hayajneh Hani, 1998, *Die Personennamen in den qatabānischen Inschriften*, Hildesheim, Olms Verlag (Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik 10).

MARAQTEN [/MARAQṬAN] Mohammed, 2008, "Women's Inscriptions Recently Discovered by the AFSM at the Awām Temple/Maḥram Bilqīs in Mārib, Yemen," *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 38, pp. 231-250.

—, 2014, "Ḥawla l-ʿalāqāt mā bayna bilād aš-Šām wa-l-Yaman qabla l-ʾislām", in Z. Kafafi & M. Maraqten (eds.), *A Pioneer of Arabia: Studies in the Archaeology and Epigraphy of the Levant and the Arabian Peninsula in Honor of Moawiyah Ibrahim*, Roma, La Sapienza (Rosapat 10), pp. 97-114.

—, 2015, "Sacred Spaces in Ancient Yemen: The Awām Temple, Maʾrib: A case study", in M. Arbach & J. Schiettecatte (eds.), *Proceedings of the 17e Rencontres sabéennes: Pre-Islamic South Arabia and its Neighbours: New Developments of research*, Oxford, Archaeopress (British Foundation for the Study of Arabia Monographs 16 – BAR International Series 2740), pp. 109-135.

—, 2018, "The Visit of Mālik bin Muʿāwiyah, King of Kindah and Maḏḥiǧ to the Ḥimyarite King Šammar Yuharʿiš in Maʾrib", in L. Nehme & A. AL-JALLAD (eds.), *"To the Madbar and Back Again": Studies dedicated to Michael C. A. Macdonald*, Leiden, Brill, pp. 449-460.

—, 2022, "Himyarite Diplomatic Missions to Bilād al-Shām and Mesopotamia in the Light of a Sabaic Inscription", in S. L. Soerensen (ed.), *Sine Fine, Studies in Honour of Klaus Geus on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, pp. 363-378.

MÜLLER Walter W., 2010, *Sabäische Inschriften nach Ären datiert: Bibliographie, Texte und Glossar*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, Veröffentlichungen der Orientalistischen Kommission 53).

OVERLAET Bruno, 2009, "A Himyarite Diplomatic Mission to the Sasanian Court of Bahram II Depicted at Bishapur", *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 20, pp. 218-221.

POHLSANDER Hans A., 2004, *The Emperor Constantine*, London, Routledge (Lancaster Pamphlets in Ancient History).

ROBIN Christian Julien, 2012, "Arabia and Ethiopia", in S. F. Johnson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 247-332.

—, 2013, "Matériaux pour une prosopographie de l'Arabie antique : les noblesses sabéenne et ḥimyarite avant et après l'Islam", in Ch. J. Robin & J. Schiettecatte (eds.), *Les préludes de l'islam : ruptures et continuités des civilisations du Proche-Orient, de l'Afrique orientale, de l'Arabie et de l'Inde à la veille de l'Islam*, Paris, de Boccard, pp. 129-271.

—, 2014, "The Peoples beyond the Arabian Frontier in Late Antiquity: Recent epigraphic discoveries and latest advances", in J. H. F. Dijkstra & G. Fisher (eds.), *Inside and Out: Interactions between Rome and the Peoples on Arabian and Egyptian Frontiers in Late Antiquity*, Leuven – Paris – Walpole MA, Peeters, pp. 33-79.

—, 2015, "Ghassān en Arabie", in D. Genequand & Ch. J. Robin (eds..), *Les Jafnide : des rois arabes au service de Byzance (VIe siècle de l'ère chrétienne)*, Paris, pp. 79-120.

SCHIETTECATTE Jérémie & ARBACH Mounir, 2016, "The Political Map of Arabia and the Middle East in the Third Century AD Revealed by a Sabaean Inscription", *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 27, pp. 176-196.

SHAHÎD Irfan, 1984, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century*, Washington DC (Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection).

VARISCO Daniel Martin, 1994, *Medieval Agriculture and Islamic Science: The Almanac of a Yemeni Sultan*, Seattle, University of Washington Press (Publications on the Near East 6).

ZWETTLER Michael J., 2000, "Maʿadd in Late-Ancient Arabian Epigraphy and Other Pre-Islamic Sources", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 90, pp. 223-309.